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ABSTRACT

A sociological approach to English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction allows for convergence of perspectives from the sociology of education and from adult education. ESL programs for immigrants have historically been purposely designed to make newcomers incorporate the values and beliefs of people in power. Sociologists of education working in their field under a critical approach have developed theories of reproduction and of resistance. Reproduction theorists see education as an aspect of cultural reproduction in society or as a means to reproduce the economic structure of society. Theories of resistance seek to identify in the resistance to dominant culture a base for political action through counter-cultural intervention in educational institutions. Three basic assumptions are implicit in curriculum development: the negative approach to the nature and uses of conflict, the consideration of men and women as tacit recipients of values and institutions and not as potential creators and recreators of institutions and values, and the political and social nature of individual problems. (Examples from instructional materials illustrate these assumptions. One of these sources, "Language and Culture in Conflict" by Nina Wallerstein, is used to contrast the others, because it seeks to propose a basic ESL curriculum under a Freirian approach.) (YLB)

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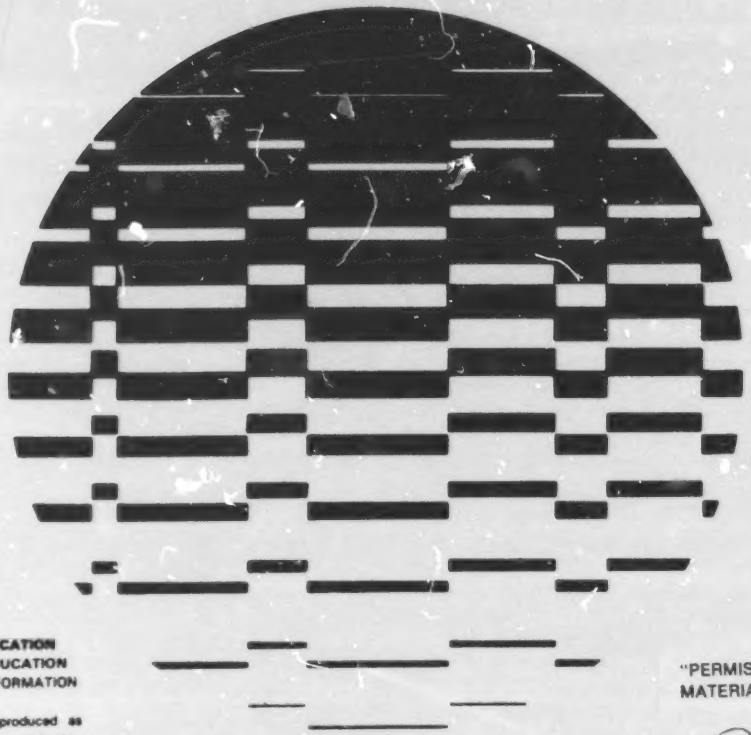

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"Some Preliminary Readings for a Sociological Approach to FSL"

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Introduction

As a sociologist of education currently working in the field of Adult Education, I feel a professional obligation to attempt the development of a sociological approach to ESL. Such an approach allows for convergence of perspectives from the sociology of education and from adult education. Further, the charge that "...one of the most recent debates in the sociology of education, about the relationship between knowledge and social control, has been largely ignored by those involved in Adult Education ..." (Thompson, 1980, p. 220), is deserving of some consideration.

The sociology of education, as is the case with other social sciences, is the product of an historical context. It could be said, in a very general way, that problems of education, when analyzed within a sociological framework, reflect society in two ways. First, educational problems assist in the identification of the nature of the society upon which they act. Second, they serve as a way through which essential features of the nature of power in a particular society appear. These statements are not new, for they relate to the beginnings of sociology as an independent discipline. From the very initiation of this science, education was put into focus in order to analyze forms of institutional behavior or ways through which human beings were transformed into individuals existing in society and participating in its institutions. In other words, education has always been viewed by sociologists as a privileged means through which an analysis of participation by individuals in society, and

an analysis of internalization of the essential values necessary for participation in all the social configurations appropriate for the exercise of power, may be made. Even though a great range of paradigms was developed to conceptualize these facts, most of these paradigms may be organized around the following two general categories:

1) those whose main purpose is the analysis of the role of education for the socialization of individuals in society, and

2) those dealing with education primarily as a way to reproduce society as a whole.

The first category includes authors of very diverse inspirations, such as Emile Durkheim, Robert Merton, and, more recently, Paulo Freire. The second category includes Pierre Bourdieu, Antonio Gramsci, Samuel Bowles, and Herbert Gintis. There is a clear heterogeneity of authors within each category and the diversity of their approaches under each classification covers a very broad range of political and intellectual thought: from conservatism to radicalism, from the necessity of centralization of educational decisions to the extreme decentralization of education in community-based programs and under community control, and from the conception of education as an essential means to promote equality in society to considering education as a tool to maintain the existing forms of power.

The extreme diversity of frameworks that the sociology of education has proposed during the last century shows, perhaps, that the problem under consideration is not to determine under which circumstances or through which ways education participates in social circumstances, or through which ways education partici-

pates in social life, but through whom and with which purposes education is put into action. In other words, it would seem that the sociology of education makes explicit the underlying values individuals participating in institutional life carry with them for the exercise of power as well as the set of values and attitudes education contributes by its daily practice for society, whether with the purpose of evolving social life under the set of possibilities created by the power structure (or in opposition to them) or with the purpose of creating some conditions to reproduce the social body as a whole.

Developing a sociological approach to ESL, then, offers a perception of ESL and ESL material from the view point of the sociology of education. Since this paper represents a first approach, it will discuss a set of readings from which most of the conclusions should be seen as tentative and exploratory in nature. It is my firm belief that the problems practitioners face in ESL-related activities, even though they are usually presented as being of a technical nature or related to policy-making issues, cannot be separated from a larger context defined by the society in which they take place. Or, as Jane L. Thompson states, "... adult education (must be placed) firmly in the context of a stratified society and within the realities of political struggle" (1980, p. 27).

The Historical Approach to the Problem

At the beginning of the 1960's an increasing number of works challenging the liberal assumptions in education began to be

published. It is not the purpose of this paper to participate in the debate between liberal and radical theories in adult education or in the sociology of education. Identification is made with authors whose work avoids abstracting educational institutions and education from the "dynamics of inequality and class-race-gender modes of discrimination" that schools imply. With this identification, the work of historians applying the "revisionist" perspective is of particular importance.

Michael W. Apple writes that

> Any serious attempt at understanding whose knowledge gets into schools must be, by its very nature, historical. It must begin by seeing current arguments about curriculum, pedagogy and institutional control as outgrowths of specific historical conditions, as arguments that were and are generated by the role schools have played in our social order. Because of the historical nature of education, we are in danger of forgetting many of the roots of schools in cities in the USA. This is unfortunate for the roots might help explain why many working class, Black, Latino, and other communities find little of their own culture and language in schools. (Apple, 1979, p. 66)

Participants in ESL programs are immigrants coming from different parts of the world to settle in the United States. From the current historical literature that deals with immigrant culture and education two main tendencies have been identified. The first tendency refers to the work of "Americanizers," with authors such as Robert A. Carlson (1975) and James Katz and Lana Muraskin (1976) analyzing Adult Education programs for immigrants as a tool to socialize immigrants into the dominant patterns of American life with the purpose of consolidating ideological unity within the American society. The second tendency, represented by authors such as Maxine Sellers (1978), Oliver Zunz (1983), and John Bodnar, et al., (1982) among others, analyzes resistance to

Americanization programs by ethnic movements and organizations. The following paragraphs offer a brief description of these tendencies.

Robert A. Carlson (1975) describes the purpose of his book as follows:

> Americanization in Education: The Quest for Conformity will describe education that sought to stamp the individual American into group norms in order to advance the U.S. mission of serving as the world's finest example of liberty. Such education will be analyzed as intellectually inconsistent with the U.S. ideal of a free society and unnecessary for national unity. The Americanizers lacked confidence in the very institutions they claimed to be upholding. The contention of some that Americanization education has been a humanitarian means of creating a harmonious society will be judged in the context of the available options -- immigration restrictions, banishment, genocide, dependence on the environment alone, and cultural pluralism. While Americanizers did help to overcome demands for harsher measures, including genocide, their efforts for homogeneity from Puritan times to the present will be shown as no more and no less than attempts at cultural genocide. (p. 15)

This long quote states well the book's attempts. Being a non-historian, I do not intend to discuss the methodological implications or the philosophical foundations that inspired this book. What is important is to show that from the very beginning of immigration, English teaching was seen as an essential policy measure designed to serve the purposes of the power structure in society. The education of immigrants in order to develop a homogeneous society goes much further than the acquisition of language skills by people arriving in the U.S. The implications of "hidden" and explicit curriculum developed in programs for the population are shown as purposely designed to make newcomers incorporate the values and beliefs of people in power as a sort of common sense. Americanization is denounced in Carlson's book

as a way to socialize people in power and, although contradictory, America's beliefs in cultural diversity.

The second tendency tries to develop an understanding of how the rise of industry and the transformation of the urban structures at the end of the 19th and 20th centuries affected immigrants' culture. Immigrants coming mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe are characterized as having another perception of the world than that of mainstream Americans. The works of historians such as Sellers, Zunz, and Bodnar show how the rejection of dominant culture patterns by Finns, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Jews, and South Slavs, among others, was assimilated to what we would call today the culture of poverty characteristic of urban minorities. Most of these works seek to analyze the relationships between ethnicity and class whether reinforcing or contradicting each other. Out of the very rich evidence these historians found in ethnic newspapers, archives of fraternities, or oral history accounts, they identified how immigrant cultures survived for decades, and in some cases still do, resisting the dominant patterns of mainstream culture.

Historical accounts on immigrant education and culture and on the role of official educational programs in immigrants' lives carry with them a very rich set of questions that could be framed under the general scope of sociology of education:

> Is education a tool for liberation or domestication?
> What is the nature of educational institutions in terms of the power strategies they serve?
> If education is not neutral, whose purposes does education try to achieve?
> Does education promote equality?
> Is education the essential tool for individual achievement in American society?

These are some of the questions with which the sociology of education attempts to work. The following pages present, in a very general way, some of the existing sociological theories that deal with the type of questions set forth in this paragraph.

The Sociological Approach to the Problem

In the past, sociologists of education working in their field under a critical approach have developed several theories that could be framed under the general names of theories of reproduction and of resistance. Each theory and ways in which each might be useful for exploring issues relevant to the ESL field will be offered. Even though these theories are very different, they have in common the fact that they analyze schools as institutions reflecting dominant values in society.

Theories of Reproduction

Reproduction theory focuses on two aspects of schooling that, through an interplay with other social forces, affect the reproduction of society. First, and perhaps most important from an ESL perspective, schools are seen as essential for the cultural reproduction of society. Their functions are those of distributing legitimate language, forms of knowledge, and all kinds of subjective values affecting behavior in a way that fosters and supports dominant cultural values and their political implications. Second, schools are places where knowledge is distributed in order to determine what places individuals occupy within the workforce, and all the implications of this fact in terms of race, class, and sex. In Cultural Production and

Theories of Reproduction in Race, Class, and Education, Paul Willis notes the growing amount of literature published in recent years showing that

> Education was not about equality, but inequality . . . Education's main purpose of the social integration of a class society could be achieved only by preparing most kids for an unequal future, and by insuring their personal underdevelopment. Far from productive roles in the economy simply waiting to be 'fairly' filled by the products of education, the 'reproduction' perspective reversed this to suggest that capitalist production and its roles required certain educational outcomes. (1983, p. 110)

From these thoughts, I shall attempt to develop a brief presentation of reproduction theory and shall briefly analyze its implications for a critical approach to ESL activities.

Education as an Aspect of Cultural Reproduction in Society

The Cultural Reproduction theory has evolved through the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his co-workers in France. Another important name to mention together with Bourdieu is that of Basil Bernstein who worked under a very similar orientation in England. The starting point of these authors is a critique of the existing theories about the role of education in the strategy of power in a given society. There are two areas of weakness in these theories, according to Bourdieu and Bernstein. First, the theories place strong emphasis on the individual or on the structure, but they are unable to link both levels together. Bordieu's and Bernstein's attempts would then be to explain, in Bernstein's words, "the transition from structures to biography." In other words, what is specific in a theory of cultural reproduction is to consider that the logic of domination within

schools should be analyzed from a theoretical approach linking dominant structures to individuals. That would allow Bourdieu to build up a theory of schooling in which the school knowledge, the dominant culture, and people's biographies on one side, and the socio-economic structures on the other, to provide a starting point for a theory of cultural transmissions.

Second, by doing this Bourdieu and Bernstein will explicitly reject theories of functionalist thinkers such as Robert Merton or Talcott Parsons. Bourdieu and Bernstein would reproach functionalist theories for their analysis of socialization by overemphasizing one single institution (in this case, schools) and for considering individuals participating in schools as passive social agents who would not be actively involved in the creation or instrumentation of values and knowledge determining the way in which they will perceive and exist in the world. Bourdieu and Bernstein argue thus against functionalist theories which consider schools as institutions that passively mirror the dominant values in society and serving the purposes of the power elite.

In Bourdieu's perspective, schools are rather seen as one institution among others whose purpose is that of socializing individuals in a way they would feel comfortable with dominant values in society. In his view the role of schools is to reproduce the existing power relations through the creation of all the necessary symbolic interactions having as a goal the production and distribution of a dominant culture and carrying with it all the tacit assumptions making sense of what it means to be educated. In other words, the role of culture transmitted by

schools is to confirm the culture of the dominant class while dismissing the culture of other groups participating in society. As Henri Giroux points out in a recent article on Bourdieu's theory,

> Culture becomes the mediating link between ruling-class interest and everyday life. It functions to portray the economic and political interest of the dominant classes, not as arbitrary and historically contingent, but as necessary and natural elements of the social order. (1983, p. 267)

The fact is that each group or class participating in society has its own cultural universe. As Bourdieu writes,

> The culture of the elite is so near that of the school that children from the lower middle class (and a fortiori from the agricultural and industrial working class) can acquire only with great effort something which is given to the children of the cultivated classes -- style, taste, wit -- in short, those aptitudes which seem natural in members of the cultivated classes and naturally expected of them precisely because (in the ethnological sense) they are a culture of that class. (1974, p. 39)

Upon these considerations, Bourdieu will develop the concept of cultural capital and will show how school participate in the legitimation process of dominant cultural capital.

Under his approach school curriculum needs to be built up in a way to confirm and distribute all the forms of knowledge necessary to the exercise of power of the ruling classes. By linking power to knowledge, cultural-capital theory provides some insight into how and why other types of knowledge such as that of the sexual or racial minorities are not a part of the curriculum that would enable dominant classes to reproduce the necessary class relations to have the control of power. But not only explicit curriculum counts because

> The uses of the body, of languages, and of time are all privileged objects of social control: innumerable elements

> of explicit education -- not to mention practical, mimetic transmissions -- relate to the uses of the body ('sit up straight,' 'don't touch') or uses of language ('say this,' or 'don't say that'). Through bodily and linguistic discipline . . . the choices constituting a certain relation to the world are internalized in the form of durable patternings not accessible to consciousness nor even, in part, amenable to will. Politeness contains a politics, a practical immediate recognition of social classifications and of hierarchies between the sexes, the generations, the classes, etc. (Giroux, 1983, p. 271)

In the case of ESL, where learners are coming from another culture, all these problems are certainly magnified. The assimilation of the communications codes and patterns of behavior necessary to develop daily life within a new society, the interpretation of the meaning of language and its accompanying communicative behavior such as gesture, intonation, pace of speech, etc., as part of both curricula (the hidden and the regular) are of a very special importance. In the case of non-English speaking immigrants, language becomes a social identity that, as Bourdieu's work trys to show, goes far beyond a simply problem of communication within a different language behavior.

Education as a Means to Reproduce the Economic Structure of Society

During the late 1960's and 1970's, the sociology of education produced a great deal of work dealing with macro-approaches to the social, political, and economic determinants of schooling that ultimately function to reproduce the labor force and accumulate capital. Under this perspective schools were seen as institutions whose ultimate function was the development of the ideological conditions appropriate for the maintenance and reproduction of the relations of production characterizing

capitalist societies. The landmark in this tradition is Bowles' and Gintis' (1976) book, Schooling in Capitalistic America, in which the authors present historical, sociological, and economic accounts aiming to explain the ways from which the structure of the workplace is replicated through the daily routines and practices that shape classroom social relations. The explanation of this replication is what they called in their book "correspondence theory." Central to this notion is the consideration of schools as institutions whose purpose is the socialization of students within the frame of attitudes and disposition appropriate to accept as natural the social and economic values and behaviors of capitalism.

Basil Bernstein, in Class, Codes and Control, observes that

> Sometimes those (Bowles and Gintis) who focus their analysis on the educational consequences of the mode of production regard the educational system as a producer of types of personality relevant to production. That is, they regard education as creating, and changing, psychological dispositions appropriate to changes in the organization of production. (1977, p. 174)

That would make the primary function of education the legitimation and mediation of the power relations appropriate to the economic necessities of society. Under this perspective correspondence theory would focus on the analysis of attitudes, skills, and values that are implicit or explicit in the school setting and that would act as legitimizers of the capitalistic rationality of work and production.

Coming from a somewhat different perspective, but sharing the essential assumption that schools are primarily institutions aimed toward the reproduction of the social relations necessary to produce under the capitalistic rules, Louis Althusser sees the

curriculum in schools oriented toward the learning of how

> to read, to write, and to add -- i.e., a number of techniques, and a number of other things as well, including elements of 'scientific' or 'literary culture,' which are directly useful in the different jobs in production (one instruction for manual workers, another for technicians, a third for engineers, a final one for high management). . . Children also learn the rules of good behavior, i.e., the attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labor, according to the job he is 'destined' for: rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for the socio-technical divisions of labour and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination. (1971, p. 132)

Theories of Resistance

Theories of resistance provide another insight toward developing a critical approach to the existing relations between educational institutions and society. Since the end of the 1970's notions such as conflict and resistance have been taken as entry points in order to illuminate analysis on how cultural resources are selected, organized, and distributed in schools in order to consolidate the present power relations. People working on resistance theory would try to overcome the distortions introduced by cultural capital and economic reproduction theories by overemphasizing the role of structural determinants in schooling. Their main work deals with special practices leading to "the dynamics of accommodation and resistance as they work through countercultural groups both inside and outside schools" (Giroux, 1983 p. 282).

In this conception, culture is not reduced, as is the case in Bourdieu's work, to an analysis of dominant cultural capital. On the contrary culture is seen under this approach as a system of practices, as a modality to act in society. As Stuart Hall

and Tony Jefferson point out,

> Culture is a distinctive shape in which the material and social organization of life express itself. A culture includes the 'maps of meaning' which make things intelligible to its members. These 'maps of meaning' are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organizations and relationships through which the individual becomes a social individual. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped, but is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood, and interpreted. (1975, p. 44)

Theories of resistance, then, try to analyze the different modalities in the combination of determinants of class and culture in order to become the basis for cultural politics. Very often presented as a blend of ethnographic studies and social radical theories, authors working in this perspective will try to make explicit the set of symbolic meanings implicit in language practices, educational rituals, and systems of significations constituting the culture of the oppressed. Their purpose is to identify in the resistance to dominant culture a base for political action through counter-cultural intervention in educational institutions. Paul Willis, considered by many to be one of the most representative authors of this approach, writes that

> We must interrogate cultures, ask what are the missing questions they answer; probe the invisible grid of context, inquire what unsaid propositions are assumed in the invisible and surprising external forms of cultural life. If we can supply the premises, dynamics, logical relations of responses which look quite untheoretical and lived out 'merely' as cultures, we will uncover a cultural politics. (1978, p. 174)

To a certain extent socialization under the dominant culture could be identified with what Paulo Freire calls "banking

education." People in Freire's perspective are considered as "knowing subjects." When he denounces the submersion of consciousness by critical intervention he puts down in reality a basic foundation to what he will later call a political pedagogy, which will be very close to the cultural politics proposed by resistance theory. By posing political pedagogy as a demasking process, through the means of action and reflection of the oppressive situation in which people live, he proposes a pedagogy based on dialogue and the unity between action and reflection, as a means to develop a response to the "process of ideologization" through which the ruling classes manipulate the consciousness of the oppressed. These ideologization forces, he writes, should be combated because they force the oppressed to interiorize values that are not really their own, while giving them a feeling of inferiority and powerlessness that imposes a fragmentary and biased vision of what is real.

Some Considerations on ESL Curriculum

Through the preceding paragraphs, types of analytical frames currently proposed by a critical sociology of education have been presented. It is important now to drive these conceptual frameworks toward greater clarity and operational precision.

Analysis of the consequences of education in which schools are considered social institutions acting as a major source of social, occupational, and cultural domination belong to a long tradition in the sociology of education. These analyses were developed in the beginning of the century by authors like Durkheim, whose main concern was the role of schooling in

personality formation and in the constitution of social groups. More recently authors like Apple, taking advantage of modern work in the sociology of education, approach schools as social places where explicit and tacit curricula, tracking, subordinate and dominant cultures, as well as competing ideologies could lead to social and cultural oppression or change. As Apple writes,

> Social and economic control occurs in schools not merely in the forms of discipline schools have or in the dispositions they teach -- the rules and routines to keep order, the hidden curriculum that reinforces norms of work, obedience, punctuality, and so on. Control is exercised as well through the forms of meaning the school distributes. That is, the 'formal corpus of school knowledge' can become a form of social and economic control. (1979, p. 63)

He further attempts in his work to trace the relationships between curriculum history and social control.

> ... the early spokespeople of the new social sciences focused most of their attention on the problem of immigration. They suspected that these immigrants, who seemed to have a higher birthrate than the native population, would soon outnumber the 'native well bred population.' Increasing numbers of immigrants, with their urban enclaves and different political, cultural, and religious traditions, were a threat to a homogeneous culture. This unitary culture was not only the source of America's stability and a key to progress, but was synonymous for these members of the intelligentsia with the idea of democracy itself. (Apple, 1979, p. 72)

In other words, the curriculum field dealt, from its inception, with the question of whose knowledge should be considered and developed as the legitimate knowledge. The culture of immigrants, given their higher birth rates and coming mainly from Northern and Southern European countries, was perceived as a threat to American institutions. Educational programs were then designed to increasingly acculturate immigrants and to socialize them into middle class values, beliefs and standards of behavior.

Describing more recent trends in curriculum development, Apple writes that

> Two tacit assumptions seem to be prominent in teaching and in curriculum materials. The first centers around a negative position on the nature and uses of conflict. The second focuses on men and women as creators and recreators of values and institutions. These assumptions act as basic guidelines that order experiences. (1979, p. 86)

Added to these two assumptions is a third one proposed by Nell Keddie in her article titled "Ideology of Individualism" writes

> The concept of cultural disadvantage or deprivation posits a culture of poverty which runs alongside the mainstream culture. This is a theory of social pathology which explains social problems as a malfunctioning of the socio-economic system, where social ills are manifested in those individuals or groups who are most vulnerable and who suffer multiple deprivation: low income, unemployment, poor housing, low educational standards, etc. What this kind of explanation achieves in practice, is a severing of the connections between the political nature of social problems and the individual who presents problems which, if they are enough, or sufficiently troublesome to others, will be dealt as individual problems by the social worker, the police, the remedial teacher, or another of those whom Everett Hughes called the "dirty workers" of our society, meaning they do its dirty work for it.' (1980, p. 57)

The following paragraphs will try to identify how the three basic assumptions described above make their appearance in ESL textbooks. The number of available texts to develop ESL classes is enormous. A list of the most common would include the following:

Notions in English, by Leo Jones; Cambridge University Press, 1979.

New Horizons English, by Lars Mellgren, Michael Walker; Teacher's Resource Book, 1980.

The Spice of Life, by James M. Hendrickson, Angela Labarca; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1979.

English: Your Second Language, by Faye Van Arsdall, Jane Hallock Combs; Steck-Vaugn Company, 1980.

English the Works, 1 and 2, by K. Lynnsavage, Mamie How, Ellc. Kai-Sahn Yeung; Scott, Foresman and Company, 1983.

American Kernel P Lessons, by Robert O'Neill, Roy Kingsbury, Tony Yeadon, Edwin B. Cornelius, Jr.; Longman Inc., 1978.

Getting Along English, by Adrian S. Palmer, Margot C. Kimball; Longman, 1981.

Lifelines, by Barbara Foley, Howard Pomann, Gretchen Dowling; Regents Publishing, 1981.

Pathways to English, by Harold B. Allen, Edward A. Voeller, Betty Wallace Robinett, N.C.T.E.; McGraw-Hill International Book Company, 1984.

Life in the USA, by R. Jordania; Science Research Associates, Inc. 1981.

Impact: Adult Reading Skills Development, by Janice C. Motta, Kathryn L. Riley; Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1983.

A New Start: A Functional Course in Basic Spoken English and Survival Literacy, by Linda Mrowicki, Peter Furnborough; Heinemann Educational Books, 1982.

Beyond the Classroom, by Ruth Cathcart, Michael Strong; Newbury House Publishers, 1982.

Discovering English, by Karen Batchelor De Garcia, Barbara Henrici Nixon; Newbury House Publishers, 1982.

First Step in Reading and Writing, by Jack Wigfield; Newbury House Publishers, 1982.

Notion by Notion: Beginning ESL Practice Book, by Linda Ferreira; Newbury House Publishers, 1981.

Practical English, by Tim Harris; Book 1 and 2, 1980, Book 3, 1981, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Side by Side, by Steven J. Molinski, Bill Bliss; Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981.

These books are so clearly mainstream oriented that it would be easy for critics to say that they have been chosen as a solution of facility. I, therefore, concentrate this analysis on books that are perceived as being of an alternative nature or purposely trying to address the major issues in urban life for

immigrants and minorities. The list of these books follows:

No Hot Water Tonight, by J. Bodman, M. Lanzano; Collier Macmillan International, Inc., 1975.

Milk & Honey, by J. Bodman, M. Lanzano; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975.

Language and Culture in Conflict, by Nina Wallerstein; Addison-Wesley, 1973.

The analysis of these materials was organized with the purpose of illustrating the three assumptions implicit in curriculum development already identified: 1) the negative approach to the nature and uses of conflict, 2) the consideration of men and women as tacit recipients of values and institutions and not as having the possibility to be creators and recreators of institutions and values and, 3) the political and social nature of individual problems. One of the books under consideration, Language and Culture in Conflict, will be used to contrast the others, for it is viewed as the only one trying to propose a basic ESL curriculum under a Freirian approach.

The Nature of Conflict

In the following text (see page 20), conflicts are presented as essentially of an individual nature, people react individually when facing a problem. There is no attempt to propose a tenants' organization through which issues could be discussed, nor is their advice about relating to community organizations dealing with these issues. The problem is also presented as isolated from a larger social context. Questions such as Who benefits from slums? or What could be effective in dealing with housing issues? are not asked

Say these words

after your teacher or after an American friend.

cute	care' ful
low	a' ny
rent	al' ways
tip	
	al read' y
up stairs'	look' a round'

HELLO, MR. FEIN!

In the hall of 229 88th Street

Mrs. Gold: Mr. Fein! Good morning. How are you today?

Mr. Fein: Fine, thanks. How are you? You're one of my oldest tenants, aren't you? About thirty-five years in the same apartment, am I right?

Mrs. Gold: Yes, that's right. What are you doing here?

Mr. Fein: I'm here to show 5E to a young couple.

Mrs. Gold: Oh, they're already upstairs with the super. They're looking around the apartment. They're a cute couple—so young.

Mr. Fein: Nice to see you again, Mrs. . . .

Mrs. Gold: Take the elevator upstairs, Mr. Fein.

Mr. Fein: Is there an elevator in this building?

Mrs. Gold: No, but it's a good idea, isn't it?

Mr. Fein: We can't have elevators and low rents.

Mrs. Gold: Be careful of the stairs. They're dangerous.

Mr. Fein: Dangerous?

Mrs. Gold: They're dangerous because there are no lights.

Mr. Fein: There's always something.

Mrs. Gold: Oh, and Mr. Fein, my bathroom faucet is leaking.

Mr. Fein: Tell the super, that's what he's for.

Mrs. Gold: The super? The super's too busy to come when you have no money to tip him.

Mr. Fein: Nice to see you. (Thirty-five years. She's still the same. There's always something.)

From No Hot Water Tonight, by J. Bodman and M. Lanzano. New York: Collier Macmillan International, Inc., 1975, pp. 57-58.

The following excerpt (see page 22) from Nina Wallerstein's book deals with a similar problem, but uses a completely different approach. The class using such a text becomes a flexible structure which, while building language skills, creates a theoretical context where participants can gain a critical distance from their concrete context. In doing so, this concrete context becomes an object for reflection and consideration from which people are able to elaborate collectively a critical approach to their daily life experiences.

8. Community Organizing

Mrs. Lee: Good morning, Mr. Samuel. I'm your neighbor from down the block.

Mr. Samuel: Good morning. What can I do for you?

Mrs. Lee: I have a petition for City Hall. We want more street lights.

Mr. Samuel: No thanks. I don't sign anything.

Mrs. Lee: Good morning, Mrs. Patel. I have a petition for City Hall.

Mrs. Patel: Oh, what for?

Mrs. Lee: It's for more street lights. We think that this block is too dark and dangerous.

Mrs. Patel: I think so, too. I never take a walk at night. It's horrible.

Mrs. Lee: I know. I think lights will help.

Mrs. Patel: Maybe. Anyhow, it's nice to meet a neighbor.

Mrs. Lee: Yes, and after this petition we're going to have a block meeting.

Mrs. Patel: Oh, when is it? I'll bring cookies.

Tools for Dialogue

1. What does the petition say?
   Does Mr. Samuel sign the petition? Why not?
   Is the street dark?
   Does Mrs. Patel walk at night?
   What's a block meeting?
2. What are the problems on this block?
   Will lights help?
   How will the block meeting help?
3. Is your street dark and dangerous?
   Do you walk at night? Is it safe?
   Do you know people on the block?
   What are the problems on your block?
   Do you sign petitions?
   Have you signed a petition before?
4. Why are there problems on the block?
   Why aren't there street lights?
   Why doesn't the city pay for lights?
5. Are there organizations on your block?
   Do you have block meetings? Who lives on your block?
   If you have a city problem, who can you complain to?
   Can you organize a block meeting?
   How do you organize a block meeting?

Practice

Maybe we should	get to know our neighbors. have a meeting. write a petition.
It's	horrible. terrible. dangerous.

Suggested Activities

1. List problems of your students' neighborhood on the board. Discuss what students can do (who they should complain to or what organization can help). Develop codes about the problems for further lessons.
2. Bring in a community organizer to talk about neighborhoods.
3. Write a class petition to a city agency, or even to the school administration.
4. Discuss whether or not students' neighborhoods are "communities."

From Language and Culture in Conflict, by N. Wallerstein. New York: Addison-Wesley, 1983, pp. 120-121.

Men and Women as Creators and Recreators of Institutions and Values

We can see in the following dialogues (see pages 24 and 25) two different ways to face problems in daily life. In the first, all the problems are seen almost as having a fatalistic nature. People are presented as leaving passively the difficulties of life, as unable to react, unable to see new patterns of relations or new forms of relations with the established power and institutions. In the second dialogue, people are conscious of their rights and possiblities when interacting with the established powers. As Freire points out, the notion of conscientization should be disencumbered from its idealistic and psychological connotations.

> There can not be conscientization (which necessarily transcends a simple process of awareness) separated from radical and transforming action on social reality. So it is that when we put the accent on the need for conscientization, we certainly do not see it as a magical solution, miraculous, and capable in itself of humanizing all people while leaving in place a world which blocks their existence as human beings, humanization, that is to say, permanent liberation, is not accomplished with the consciousness. It is found in history where human beings have the task of creating and transforming with interruption. (Freire, 1972, p. 2)

Maria: Listen, he wasn't right for you. You know that. Look, you'll find someone else.

Carmen: I'm not worried about that, Maria. But the men I like aren't right for me. I want an educated man, a strong man. You know--a real man. But then I don't like it when they tell me what to do or when they make me feel stupid. Besides, all the good men are already married or don't want to get married.

Maria: Don't I know it! I've been looking, but I guess I don't have much to offer.

Carmen: Yes, you do.

Maria: Not like you. I'm divorced. I've got three babies. I got married at fifteen. I didn't finish school. And I look more like my mother every day.

Carmen: I don't like to hear you talk about yourself that way.

Maria: Maybe there's something wrong with me. I never made my husband happy. He was always drinking and, you know, other women . . . I never was much to look at.

Carmen: No. You did the right thing when you got rid of him.

Maria: Maybe yes, maybe no.

Carmen: Maria, please.

Maria: Well, I have my children.

Carmen: You're a wonderful mother, and your children love you.

Maria: I should be happy with that.

Carmen: Maria, you're a wonderful person. You're more than a great mother. You're kind and intelligent and strong.

Maria: Me—strong?

Carmen: You've held your family together. With very little money, you manage the food your apartment, the clothes . . .

Maria: I have to. That's all welfare gives me.

Carmen: I admire you.

Maria: Mmm. I wish I could get more money.

Carmen: Why don't you get a job?

Maria: I get more money on welfare. I can't get welfare if I work, and so I guess I can't afford to get a job.

Carmen: Are you sure? Maybe there's a way. . . . Oh, Maria, sometimes I get so tired, so tired of working, of trying so hard.

Maria: You need a vacation. Why don't you go back to Puerto Rico for a week or so?

Carmen: My boss wouldn't like that very much.

Maria: Tell him your grandfather died. God forgive me. Or I'll call and tell him you're sick.

Carmen: I just want to crawl into a hole for a week. I don't want to do anything or see anybody.

Maria: I know how you feel.

Carmen: There must be something you can do, Maria—some way to make a better life for you and your children.

Maria: That's the first thing I say to myself in the morning—and the last thing I say to myself at night.

Carmen: I wish I could help you.

Maria: Well, my problem is that I don't have enough education to get a nice job even if I had a skill. And this is a bad time for jobs. So many people I know are unemployed. Look at Nikolai. Tatiana told me he goes out and looks for a job every day. If he can't find one, how can I?

Carmen: Come on. You can do housework or something like that.

Maria: Sure. But what would I get? A hundred a week?

Carmen: I guess so.

From Milk & Honey, by J. Bodman and M. Lanzano. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975, p. 160.

6. Border Problems

Border Patrol: Hey, you! Why are you running through here?
Sr. Garcia: I have to catch a bus. It leaves for L.A. in 15 minutes.
Border Patrol: This is a government area. You can't run through here.
Sr. Garcia: I'm sorry, but I'm late.
Border Patrol: May I see your papers, please?
Sr. Garcia: I'm a U.S. citizen. I don't need papers.
Border Patrol: Then may I see your driver's license?
Sr. Garcia: I don't drive.
Border Patrol: How about your birth certificate?
Sr. Garcia: Listen, I'm on the U.S. side of the border.
Border Patrol: Well, how do I know you're not an illegal immigrant?
Sr. Garcia: I know my rights.
Border Patrol: All right. All right. But you should carry papers.

Tools for Dialogue

1. Why is Sr. Garcia running?
   What does the patrolman ask?
   Does Sr. Garcia have papers with him?
   Does he have a driver's license?
   Where is Sr. Garcia?
2. Is Sr. Garcia a citizen?
   Does a citizen need papers?
   Why is the patrolman unfriendly?
   How does Sr. Garcia feel?
3. Are you a citizen?
   Do you carry papers?
   Has someone asked you for papers?
   Were they friendly or unfriendly?
   How did you feel?
4. Why is the patrolman asking for papers?
   Why do border guards try to stop undocumented people?
5. What can you say if someone asks for papers?
   What can you say if they are unfriendly?
   What are your rights?

Practice

You should	carry papers. walk through here. go home. get a license.
I'm sorry, but	I'm late. I'm busy. I'm in a hurry. I'm not feeling well. I can't stay. I can't help you. . . .

Suggested Activities

1. Call local immigration office or legal services to find out rights of permanent residents and illegal immigrants. Bring in information and discuss.
2. Bring in information on illegals. Discuss jobs they have, the fact that they seldom take away jobs from U.S. citizens, the special problems their children face, etc.

From Language and Culture in Conflict, by N. Wallerstein. New York: Addison-Wesley, 1983, pp. 136-137.

The Ideology of Individualism

This text (see page 27) presents individual problems as never being of a social nature. The role of women in society and the place society makes for them is never challenged. Maria will go back to her family; she won't be able to make it on her own. In the best of cases, going back to her family and giving up reproduces for Maria the same type of situation from which she is trying to escape. She could go to a family counselor. More probably in her culture, she would go back to her husband after consulting a priest.

From Milk & Honey, by J. Bodman and M. Lanzano. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975, p. 183.

We continue our story.

(The students are talking before class.)

Carmen: Maria, you came! I'm so glad.
Maria: I really came to say goodbye.
Tatiana: Goodbye? So soon?
Matilde: What have you been doing? We heard you got a job in a fancy restaurant. How's it going?
Maria: I have a lot to learn. Working at a luncheonette in Brooklyn is a lot different from being a waitress in a nice restaurant.
José: How are the tips? Good?
Maria: Uh-huh. But after work I'm exhausted. I'm on my feet for hours. And I have to try and please everyone. And sometimes the chef is slow or I forget something. But I don't mind. The pay is good. The only bad part is that I can't be with my babies, but . . .
Sophie: I take good care of them.
Maria: I know you do.
Tatiana: So, are you still going back to the Dominican Republic?
Maria: (She pauses) Yes, I am.
Fusako: But everything is going well for you. You don't have to go back now.
Maria: You're right. But now I think I want to go back.
Nikolai: Why?
Maria: Life is easier there. The weather's so nice. A little money goes a long way. My family is there and . . . well . . . it's home.
Nikolai: I miss Russia, too.
Carmen: You do?
Nikolai: Maybe you think it's strange, but I do. I know they don't miss me and I know we can never go back, but I still miss all the places I knew—the streets and stores and people I'll never see again.

The Nina Wallerstein text (see page 29) is of a completely different nature. People having problems are people who have rights. If they cannot benefit from their rights, they try to found out why. Reasons could be either of a political or individual nature, but politics is not separated from individual problems, since individual problems are quite often related to the nature of power in society. It is, in fact, for these reasons that Freire defines himself as someone trying to lay some of the basic foundations for a political pedagogy. This pedagogy is conceived as a process of demasking, through action and reflection, the oppressive situation and acquiring the capacity for conscious and creative interventions in society.

5. Home Repairs

Lilac: Hey, the roof is leaking.
Sum: Oh, no! Put a pail under it.
Lilac: Call Mr. Jones, the landlord.
Sum: Why? He won't fix it.
Lilac: Yes, he will. The lease says he repairs the building.
Sum: Let's call a repair person.
Lilac: How do we find someone?
Sum: Look in the yellow pages under roof repair.
Lilac: I'll keep the bill. The landlord will pay.
Sum: I hope so, but I don't think so.

Tools for Dialogue

1. What's the matter?
   Is it raining?
   Will the landlord fix it?
   How does Lilac find a repair person?
2. Will the landlord pay?
   What does the lease say?
   What happens if he doesn't pay?
3. Will your landlord or landlady make repairs?
   What will they fix?
   What do you fix at home?
   Who helps you?
   What will your landlord pay for?
   What does your lease say?
4. Do you have a lease or rental agreement?
   Did you read it before you signed it?
   Did you make any changes?
5. What happens if you don't pay the rent?
   What happens if your landlord doesn't pay for repairs?
   Who can you call for help?

Writing Exercise

1. When your roof is broken, who do you call?
2. When your stove is broken, who do you call?
3. When your phone is broken, who do you call?
4. When your sink is broken, who do you call?
5. When your fence is broken, who do you call?
6. When your television is broken, who do you call?

Practice—future

I		I	
You		You	
He	will	She	won't/will not
She		He	
We		We	
They		They	

I'll
You'll
He'll
She'll
They'll
We'll

pay for it.
keep the bill.
I'll call the roofer.
fix it.
help you. . . .

Suggested Activities

1. Have students bring in telephone books to look up the numbers and addresses of repair people in or close to their neighborhoods.
2. Have students role-play phoning repair people and asking for prices of service.
3. Bring in a sample lease or rental agreement. Have students bring in theirs. Discuss rights and responsibilities of tenants and landlords.
4. Invite a member of a Tenants' Association or of the city housing office to discuss the law.
5. If appropriate, develop a code on a tenants' strike.

From Language and Culture in Conflict, by N. Wallerstein. New York: Addison-Wesley, 1983, pp. 114-115.

Some Conclusions

This paper is an attempt to present, in a very general way, some elements that would permit an approach to ESL from a larger context out of which the analysis of the relationships between education and society, between the nature of pedagogy and that of power, would short cut any attempt to present ESL-related activities as having an exclusive neutral and/or technical nature. Because, as Freire points out in his debate with Illich,

> It is not education which forms society in a certain way. It is society which, having formed itself in a certain way, established the education to fit the values which guide the society. However, since this is not a mechanical process, the society which structures education to meet the interests of those who hold power then finds in education a fundamental factor for the preservation of this power. (1972, p. 4)

It is suggested that one avoid the temptation to separate this rather theoretical approach from its practical implications because

> Cut off from practice, theory becomes a simple verbalism. Separated from theory, practice is nothing but blind activism. That is why there is no authentic praxis outside the dialectical unity between action and reflection, practice and theory. In the same way, there is no theoretical context if it is not in a dialectical unity with the concrete context. In this context -- where the fact are -- we find ourselves enveloped by the real, but without necessarily comprehending in a critical way why the facts are what they are. In the Theoretical context -- holding the concrete off at arm's length -- we seek the raison d'etre of the facts . . . (Freire, 1972, p. 4)

I would nevertheless like to finish this paper with an autocritical point. Further consideration of the problems presented here requires the presentation and elaboration of the concept of hegemony. This shall certainly be the starting point for another paper in the future.

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COMPARISON OF FREIRE'S PROBLEM-POSING APPROACH AND OTHER ESL METHODOLOGIES
(Moriarty and Wallerstein)

Methodology	Similarities	Differences
CL/CLL Counseling Learning/ Community Language Learning	•extends beyond the artificial environment of the classroom •attempts to use language creatively, not just repetitively •topics for discussion determined by students •emphasizes group and social interaction •demonstrates relevance of conflict and emotions to learning	•counselor/teacher doesn't ask questions, but simply translates; Freire teacher proceeds by questioning and dialogue •topics for discussion can be anything (Curran's examples—a trip to Tokyo, miniskirts); Freire content is always posed as a problem or central concern for the group •CL/CLL teacher participates as expert translator; Freire teacher participates as a peer
Survival ESL Competency-based (CBE)/(situational approaches)	•attempts to deal with adult situations •shows relevance of learning to daily life •emphasizes needs assessment and feedback for evaluation •bases pattern of competencies on social inequities	•CBE emphasizes skills to cope and assimilate; Freire emphasizes skills to create and change problem situations •Freire focuses on the survival skills and strengths that students already have •Freire emphasizes teacher and students as co-learners
Values Clarification Cultural Relativism	•affirms students' expression of feelings and value statements •encourages participation by all •teacher is nonjudgmental	•values clarification remains at individualistic level; Freire views values and cultural attitudes as a group creation
Notional/Functional	•assumes communicative competence as starting point •uses language with its social context and purpose (opinions, intentions, emotions) •teaches language that students need •organizes teaching by content and integrated skills	•life-skills are taught for individual competence; Freire emphasizes collective approach •not./funct. organizes curriculum by purpose and need only; Freire takes problem-orientation and thinking skills as major need •Freire adds cultural context to expressions and communication

From Adult Education for a Change, by Jane L. Thompson. London: Hutchinson, 1980.

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